THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES

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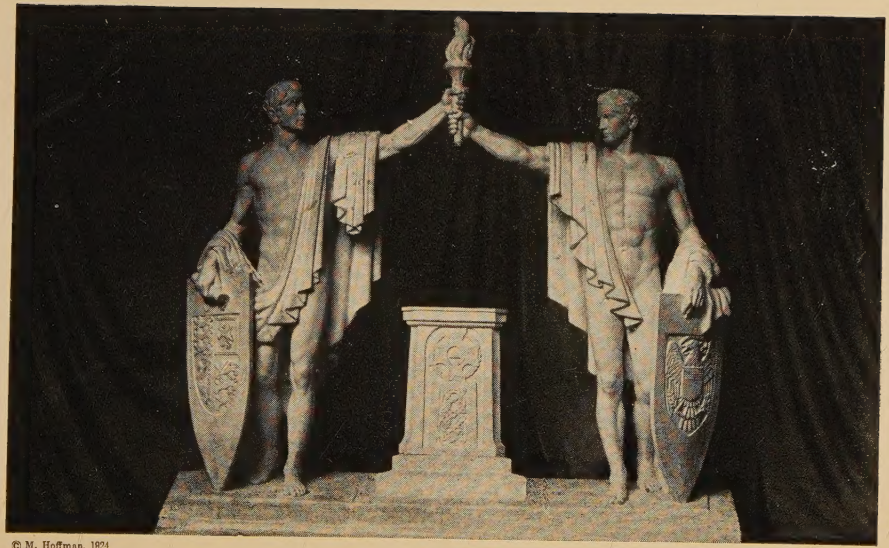

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Showing sculptural group by Malvina Hoffman, noted American sculptress, symbolizing the unity of Great Britain and the United States, now permanently placed above the Kingsway entrance to the Bush House. London, which Mr Irving T. Bush, President of the Bush Terminal Company, has dedicated to the friendship of the English-speaking peoples.

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES

Will They Fail in Their Mission to the World?

By
WILBUR P. THIRKIELD
One of the Bishops of the
Methodist Episcopal Church

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PREFACE

In this little book is given the address, the main part of which was delivered at the semi-annual Conference of the Board of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Buffalo in November, 1925. On account of the limitations of such a deliverance, the address makes no pretence of being a full or thorough-going discussion of the subject. It is hoped that it may prove suggestive and may stimulate interest in the important theme discussed. In its preparation no thought of publication was in mind. This accounts for the direct and rhetorical form of address which has been retained.

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THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES

Will They Fail in Their Mission to the World?

If this world is to be brought into harmony with the principles and ideals of Jesus Christ in this new century, to all human vision it must be through the English-speaking peoples. This group in its possible potential service to mankind seems elect of God, chosen for a high purpose—a world-embracing mission.

In fact, if they will but accept a responsibility now held by no other people, and humble themselves in the mighty hand of God in Christlike living and in sacrificial service for mankind, that great word of Scripture may be applied to them as *prophetic of a mission of unmeasured redemptive grace and power unto the world:* "Ye are an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession, that ye may

show forth the excellencies of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvelous light; which in time past were not a people, but are now the people of God; who had not obtained mercy, but now . . . have obtained mercy."[1] Ye, O Anglo-Americans, are elect, royal, holy, God's own; not for your own high pomp or wealth or luxury or self-indulgence, or the exploitation of weaker peoples, but that ye may show forth to the nations that sit in darkness the "excellencies of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvelous light." Elect as God always elects, not for privilege and power but for service. Just as God chose Israel for a far-reaching and saving purpose as the channel of redeeming grace and for the moral education of mankind, so does he seem to have equipped the English-speaking peoples to be the torch-bearers for Jesus Christ to the ends of the earth.

That So-Called Nordic Race

This is no plea for imperialism or for

[1] 1 Peter 2. 9.

that so-called Nordic race of supermen with its capacity for "leadership and fighting"; or as Dean Inge describes this group, "The fiercest of all beasts of prey with weapons that have made it the lord and bully of the planet." Such a boasted policy of exploitation or of subjugation by any group, which at the end would mean the extermination of the colored races, now numbering two thirds of mankind, is only the language of the jungle, which God will smite with his wrath. This relation to non-Christian or belated groups must be regarded as a grave responsibility, a sacred trust. Such sovereignties or mandates with which any people is intrusted are not for exploitation, not for

"Such boastings as the Gentiles use
. . . . . .
And guarding, calls not Thee to guard,"

but should be burdened with a redemptive purpose. And it should humble and chasten this English-speaking group, with their vast responsibilities, to re-

member, as has been suggested, that "they stand as world-trustee, not because of any inherent right, still less because of temporary power, because the riches and resources which it holds have come to it directly or indirectly as near or far remote, from the whole race of man."[1] Well may they pray with Kipling:

"For frantic boast and foolish word
Thy mercy on thy people, Lord."

In relation to every race we must recognize the value and sacredness of human personality. And along with the categorical imperative of Kant, we must hold as a motive and rule of moral action his other word: "So act as to treat humanity, whether in thine own person, or in that of another, always as an end, never as a means." That is, no man, woman or child, however humble, exists for the pleasure or profit of another. Human personality is sacred.

The Social Equipment of a Race

Furthermore, as basic to my plea, is

[1] Speer, *Race and Race Relations.*

the distinction made by modern sociology between the mental and physical capacity with which God has endowed all races and the intellectual, moral, and social equipment of a race which is the outcome of education and environment. This makes for that culture and social strength which we call civilization. And when I speak of the place that the English-speaking group may have in God's plan for redeeming the world, I do not mean people of strictly Anglo-American race or color or ancestry, but include all men of whatever race or lineage who have been woven into the warp and woof of this civilization and have been lifted to share its ideas and ideals.

Here the English language has been potent as a unifying force, for "an individual is a mental slave of the tongue he speaks." So it is that the standards, aspirations, and moral ideals conveyed through the English tongue not only dominate the native but also mold the thought and life of immigrants of every race coming under its influence. Elect to high privilege is that people

"Who speak the tongue that Shakespeare spoke;
The faith and morals hold which Milton held."

Especially is this true of the United States, where every third man, woman, and child is either an immigrant or the child of an immigrant of the first generation, yet they are essentially one in ideals. Language is the melting pot that fuses races into one people.

DeTocqueville in his *Democracy in America* (page 33) affirms that "the tie of language is, perhaps, the strongest and most desirable that can unite mankind." Thus, through the English language millions of those whom we unwisely persist in calling foreigners have found a common bond of life and have thus entered into the sympathies, hopes, aspirations and ideals of the English-speaking peoples, and must exercise a profound influence in the relation of the United States to the rest of the world.

It would appear that some have been unduly alarmed for fear that the immigrant elements are not becoming assimi-

lated to the conditions, laws, manners and ideals of this country. They see them massed in groups in the great cities, only, and rush to this conclusion. They should follow them into the public schools and libraries and colleges and on out into the rural regions. Professor Franz Boaz, the eminent ethnologist of Columbia University, in a recent number of the Forum, writes of the dispersion of the second and third generation "who become so thoroughly Americanized that the social resistance to Americanizing influences is so weak that it may rather be regretted that we profit so little from the cultural heritage of the immigrants than that we should fear their modifying influence upon American thought and sentiment."

The Negro American and English-Speaking

Again, take the American Negro—twelve millions of them—a definite part of the English-speaking peoples. They have acquired the use of English in a remarkable way. Professor Shaler, of Harvard, has said that there are tens of

thousands of untrained Negroes in this country who have a better sense of English than the peasant class of Great Britain. No one can measure the force of this as a factor in his education and in his absorption as a genuine part of our American life. He is American by birth, with from three to ten generations behind him, for the last slave ship landed over one hundred years ago. He is American in spirit and ideals. The Negro is no Bolshevist, no anarchist, no striker, no avenger, no Blackhander. There are no "Black Hand societies" among black men. He is also Protestant in spirit and creed. And if the battle ever should be thrust on the United States for our free institutions—for the common school, the open Bible and a state-free religion—here is a group of twelve millions to stand firm and fight bravely for American institutions. Through contact and through the English language was made possible the tribute of Lord Bryce, that the American Negro "had developed more in sixty years than the Anglo-Saxon did in six centuries." Let it not be forgotten that

the star of hope for Africa's redemption rests not over the Congo but over the Mississippi.

Our Anglo-American civilization is thus gathering up in its sweep and current men of all races. Only a spirit of broad sympathy and generous co-operation will redeem these people out of the narrowness of race feuds and hatreds and rivalries into a civilization that is genuinely tolerant, cooperative, Christian. To this end, one of our first problems is the conquest of race prejudice. In this is involved not merely religious progress, but true civilization. You can never reach and Christianize peoples whom you patronize or despise as inherently and forever inferior because of birth or color or nationality. Red, yellow, black or brown skins are the gifts of God as well as white skins. Human hearts beat behind them all and suffer and struggle and bleed and aspire.

The presence in the United States of these representatives of all nations offers an unmatched opportunity to reach and redeem the world through them. Are we

not neglecting a strategic missionary opportunity? These peoples, of all races, should be redeemed into the larger life in Christ. Then may they bring in a possible new Pentecost as they go forth into all lands, every man speaking in his own language to his own people "the mighty works of God."

What Group Is Equal to This World Task?

With these observations I come back to my proposition, that if the world is to be brought to Jesus Christ in this generation, to all human vision it must be through the influence, teaching, and example of the English-speaking peoples. If not, what other group is equal to the task? Spain cannot do it. With a whole Western world once under her sway, Spain did not show the political acumen, the civic righteousness, nor the religious vitality to hold or to redeem the peoples once under the shadow of her cross. And in our day we have seen her last pearls of the sea, Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, drop from her enfeebled hands.

A golden candlestick lighted of the Lord! The light become darkness! The candlestick removed!

Italy is not equal to the task. Under the dominance of an earthly potentate who claims temporal dominion and under the religious sway of a church that expresses its life too largely in ceremonial processions, formal worship, and the making of saints, surely Italy may not reach the world for Christ. Russia, still in the bonds of a mediæval church, given to superstition, for the next half century has her hands full in civilizing and redeeming the millions within her own border. Germany cannot do it. Fifty years ago Germany deliberately turned away from her evident missionary task to the education of her people in the science of power and to equipment for world dominion. Thank God for Locarno and the new attitude of Germany. May she now turn her face to the Sun of Righteousness with healing in his wings. France is not equal to the task. Burdened with debt and reconstruction, with only one fourth of her people con-

cerned about religion, France has lost the spirit that once sent Francis Xavier and his brave missionaries to the ends of the earth.

The Task of Anglo-American Peoples

Face to face with this situation the word of Dr. Richard S. Storrs seems true and prophetic: "If the ends of the earth are to be reached and all men are to be brought to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, it must be through the Anglican and American peoples in this and our fatherland." "England and America," said he, "have a commission clear as the sun shining in his strength—to bring the light of the knowledge of Jesus Christ to the ends of the earth." A brief appeal to fact and to reason will show how, to all human vision, this must be true:

First: The English-speaking peoples are best fitted to bring Christ to the world, because they are in touch with the whole world. The growth and expansion of these peoples furnish one of the marvels of all history. Think of a group that in 1700 numbered six millions; in

1800 twenty millions; in 1880, one hundred millions—a four-fold increase in eighty years. Now the world echoes to the tread of nearly two hundred millions identified with the English-speaking peoples. Gladstone prophesied that before the close of this century they would outnumber all the combined civilized races of the earth.

Daniel Webster in his address on the "Landing of the Pilgrims," speaking of "this great expansion of the power of the two branches of Old England," said that "on this continent all is to be Anglo-American from Plymouth Rock to the Pacific, from the North Pole to California. That is certain; and in the Eastern world, I only see that you can hardly place a finger on a map of the world and be an inch from an English settlement."

The imperial sway and dominance of this group is portentous. Out of fifty-three million square miles of the habitable land of the earth, forty-seven millions, or nearly nine tenths, are under the dominance of the white man. The white group holds five continents out of six.

Only four million square miles are now ruled by the yellow races. The Creator and Ruler of the earth must have some strange meaning in it all when he permits the English-speaking group, numbering only one-eighth part of mankind, to dominate over one third of the earth's surface and more than one third of all its people. What a terrible responsibility!

A Possible World Language

Secondly: The language of these peoples is best fitted to shape the thought, to mold the ideals, and to be the channel through which Jesus Christ may reach the world. Because, in the first place, it is best fitted to become a world language. Dr. Weiss, the eminent German philologist, years ago set out to show the inferiority of the language of Shakespeare. He ended by saying: "The English language is the best, the most flexible, the one language ever spoken by man best fitted to become a world language." John Fiske prophesied the day when "The world's business will be transacted by the English-speaking peoples to so great

an extent, that whatever language any man may have learned in his infancy, sooner or later he will find it necessary to learn to express it in English."[1] And this language is fast girdling the earth. In a recent period the German increased sixty per cent; the French a hundred and ten per cent, and the English over six hundred per cent. In a conference between China and Japan, English was used as a common medium. It is a required study in the schools of Japan and Java. The League of Nations chose English as an official language. As a world language Esperanto has no history, tradition, or literature. The English tongue has back of it great literature, government, history, and the splendors of art and science. It is living, electric, dynamic in the life of the world.

English Language Saturated With Christ

Now, the strategic point is this: The English language is saturated with Christian thought. Ten centuries have poured

[1] John Fiske, *American Political Ideas*, page 143.

the enlarging thought of Jesus Christ into the English tongue. You must tear it to shreds to get Christ out of it. Leaders like Gladstone have grounded their statesmanship on the impregnable rock of Holy Scriptures. The great poets and prophets of the English-speaking world—Milton, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning, Whittier, Lowell, Lanier—have expressed faith in Christ—in that

"One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves."

So that the English language is carrying Christ to the world.

Thirdly: The Christian principles, the ethical standards, the religious spirit and the world-embracing missionary ideals of the English-speaking peoples have fitted them to be the channel for bringing Christ to the World. Montesquieu a hundred years ago characterized them as the people most thoroughly imbued with the spirit of freedom and the religious mind. With all their faults, religion is their strongest characteristic.

A Holy Passion for Missions

This is manifest in their holy passion for missions. In the first world conference on missions in 1888 there were one hundred and twenty-one societies of the English-speaking peoples, while eighteen represented all of continental Europe. In the same year, when they gave $1.37 per member for missions, the great German state church gave three quarters of a cent per member to bring Christ to the world. To-day four fifths of all contributions and three fourths of all the missionaries come from the English-speaking group.

This spirit is manifest in the printing of the Bible for the world. In the years 1919 to 1924 the American Bible Society printed 30,143,594 copies of the Scriptures; 17,434,270 were issued in and for foreign lands. In the same period the British and Foreign Bible Society printed 51,726,611 copies—a grand total of 81,870,566 copies. The issue of the Bible in other countries is practically negligible. This spirit is also manifest

in the income of foreign missionary boards alone, which from 1919 to 1923 amounted to $171,558,664. While this seems vast, yet for church buildings alone in the United States last year the church expended nearly $400,000,000.

Now, after this survey, let us face the solemn question:

What Is the Meaning of All This?

Here stands this English-speaking group, as we have seen, in touch with the whole world; with a domination that amounts to imperialism, which is not its glory but its shame and peril; with a language fast girdling the earth as the tongue of trade, diplomacy, science, and religion; a people with unusual capacity for religion and equipped with a missionary passion and sacrifice surpassing that of any other race.

What shall we do with this world-embracing power and opportunity through contact, dominance, language, wealth, with the sanctions of freedom and humanity, backed by the force of Christian standards and ideals? I answer: *Hold*

all as a sacred deposit for the sake of the world. Use all as a channel through which Jesus Christ may be brought to the last down-most child of the human race. This people has no mandate for world supremacy but, rather, for world service; not for world dominion but for world redemption.

Any other program must prove fatal. It may be true that an alliance of the Anglo-American groups for world conquest and imperialism would furnish a combination of equipment and force that could crash its brutal way over the earth. But let any group undertake such an arrogant program and it shall be broken by God like a potter's vessel. Dean Inge has well pointed out the "chief danger to the white man arising from his arrogant contempt for other races, a contempt which in some lands is mixed with fear and hatred, which has provoked fear and hatred in return."

Western Civilization Lost Its Magic

True, Western civilization was once a magic word. On its wave we were to

float Christianity into the life of pagan peoples. They have now through contact come to know that our civilization is saturated with pagan caste, customs, and conduct. Who can forget the old-time missionary address that set forth in glowing terms the inspiring advance of modern civilization, with its steamship, telegraph and the arts and appliances of a new age. On its bosom were to be carried into the dark heathen spaces the Bible, the church life, the prophetic message and the Christian civilization of the Western world.

But along with the missionary have gone the trader and the traveler often with their brutal keenness, their caste, their guns and their rum, their profligacy and their pagan ideals and practices. And all this in the ostensible name of "Christian civilization"! "Civilization!" Who was it that said South Africa had been "civilized within an inch of hell"? All this flames out in the burning words of that Hindu teacher to Stanley Jones—"I want to become a Christian, but I do so in spite of the lives of

Europeans I have seen here." This was "said in a section of the East—the Straits Settlements—where nearly every European planter had his native concubine. His race prejudices do not extend as far as his lusts."[1]

The old missionary map with heathen nations set in black and so-called Christain nations in shining white, must be revised unless, indeed, "the West is of a deeper black because it has had access to Christ so long." What shall we say to the taunt of pagan peoples: "Your missionaries tell us what you believe; your people here and at home show us how you live"? And sad examples of our spirit of caste, our vice, profligacy, and lawlessness are daily set before ten thousand foreign students in the colleges of England and America.

An Hour of Crisis

Truly upon us the ends of the world have come. It is an hour of crisis, proph-

[1] *The Christ of the Indian Road*, page 105. The Abingdon Press.

esied by Benjamin Kidd[2] in that trenchant and serious warning that we should one day be "face to face with social and political problems graver in character and more far-reaching in extent than any which have hitherto been encountered." That "the Western people will probably be put to a severer test than any which it has yet had to undergo." He spoke of the "immense part which the English-speaking peoples, if true to their own traditions, are not improbably destined to play in the immediate future of the world." And of the "stern and immutable conditions of moral fitness and uprightness through which alone a people can long continue to play a great part on the stage of the world." He then adds: "No other race has ever looked out upon such an opportunity as presents itself before these peoples in the twentieth century. Will they prove equal to it? The world will be poorer indeed, and the outlook for our civilization gloomy, if they fail."

[2] Kidd: *Social Evolution.*

Those Stern and Immutable Conditions

"If they fail!" Ominous word in the light of the present outlook for the kingdom of Christ in non-Christian lands! Are we English and Americans measuring up to "those stern and immutable conditions of moral fitness and uprightness," which alone make us fit channels through which Jesus Christ may reach the world?

Let us first apply this test to the British people in their relation to the non-Christian world.

What wonder that to the English there is an ominous sound of trouble and turmoil out of China. But England looked with seared eyes and was dull of hearing. When the present revolution broke, the English people and press saw only *red*—simply the agitation of the Bolshevist in China. England should have seen *black*—the record of that opium-war treaty with Nanking in 1842, when she grabbed Chinese ports, held to this day, and by terms of an enforced treaty, in one hand offered China the water of life through

the Christian missionary, and in the other hand forced on her the bread of death, imposing on millions the hell of the opium habit, and all for revenue only. Even now the opium imports equal in value all other goods brought to China—a black, damning stream of pollution and death.

England's ears were stopped and did not hear the shot that rang around the world when her minions shot down (in the back, it was said) that group of protesting students whose minds had been quickened to a keener sense of social justice and humanity through the teachings of Jesus. Tragic blunder this. Deaf was she to the wail of exploited workers in those "black, satanic mills" where eighty per cent are women and children under fourteen years of age, forced to labor twelve and a half to fifteen hours a day.

The Old Order Changeth

England should hear the startling word of her own reformer and prophet, as in his last hours he brooded over the world:

"The future history of the world depends more than anything else upon this: how Christianity is presented to China." England is forgetting that "Christian China" has seen the light and the old order changeth. While at the Morrison China Centennial in 1907, out of one thousand delegates there was not one Chinese, at the great Convention in 1922, over fifty per cent were Chinese delegates. And they dominated the convention, not by numbers only but through force of character, clear convictions and spiritual discernment.

Until England heeds the voice of the one thousand periodicals in China which reach millions; renounces her system of special rights, privileges and customs held for three fourths of a century; submits to native Chinese courts of law; shows the spirit of brotherhood and turns the hate of the people into confidence and trust, England must fail to be the channel through which Christ shall reach China.

England and an Awakened India

Again those "stern and immutable conditions of moral fitness" face England in her relation to India and Africa with their four hundred and fifty million people. This involves a problem of the races that may yet shape the destiny of the British commonwealth. Its solution has to do not only with India, Africa, and Kenya, but with Australia and Canada. If expressed in the terms of the old decree to "spare the subservient and smash the rebel," England will fail.

First: There is that spirit of imperialism which, to an awakened India, is the way of fear, bitterness, and hate. The spirit of caste is not an attitude but an atmosphere.[1] The cultivated Indian utters the taunt, "You are quite willing to offer us a throne in heaven and yet not offer us a chair in your own house." Then there is a poverty which persists after a hundred years of British rule. Ghandi claims that eighty per cent of the people are living in a state of semi-starvation.

[1] Forster, *A Passage to India.*

The average daily income is five cents per capita. In spite of that which has been efficient and even beneficent in British rule, forty million Indians from birth to death never go to bed with a full stomach. The illiteracy is appalling. As late as 1907 only two per cent of the population was in school. After one hundred and fifty years of British rule ninety-three per cent of the people are still illiterate.

The Bogy of White Supremacy

There is unrest and ferment, intensified by the victory of Japan over Russia. We face a new East. The old bogy of the supremacy of the white man was shattered and the victory of Japan sent a thrill of exultation and hope through the heart of the colored races of the world. Dean Inge, in his *White Man and His Rivals,* thus emphasizes its significance: "Kuroki's victory on the Yalu, though due to the blunders of a subordinate general, will perhaps rank as one of the turning points of history. It was followed by a series of successes, both by land and sea, which amazed Europe and sent waves

of excitement and hope through the entire continent of Asia."[2]

Again, fighting along with the white race in the World War opened the eyes of over a million Indians to the weakness, brutality, and greed of the white man. They caught the vision of free peoples. They saw thrones shattered. A new race consciousness was born. Solidarity and self-determination became the watchword among millions of the colored groups.

Then the open Bible always proves an incendiary document to oppressed peoples. As Lowell says: "There is dynamite enough in the New Testament, if legitimately applied, to blow all our existing institutions into atoms." So you must chain the Bible in a dungeon if you would hold a race under the heel of imperialism and shut the door of hope to ultimate self-government. If you bury a man alive, in the end he will beat and break his coffin lid. And India is breaking through.

[2] *Outspoken Essays.* Second Series, page 215.

That Strange, Pathetic Figure—Ghandi

Furthermore, there stands that strange, pathetic figure—mystic, ascetic prophet, saint, an Indian Saint Francis of Assisi. There in the loneliness of Christ stands this little wisp of a man in loin cloth and sandals, a dominant moral power in India. What missionaries have not been able to do in fifty years, Ghandi by his saintliness, trial, prison, fasting, and suffering love, has done—opened the eyes of India to the cross. He smites the system of caste. With Christ's hand he touches the untouchables. He defies imperialistic power. With soul aflame he cries, "Let my people go!" A nationalist leader says, "I never understood the meaning of Christianity until I saw it in Ghandi." And who has better interpreted the spirit of Jesus than has Ghandi in his word to Stanley Jones, quoted in his *Christ of the Indian Road:* "If you would bring Christ to India, first, live more like Jesus." Secondly: "Practice your reli-

gion without adulterating or toning it down." And, thirdly, "Put your emphasis on love, the center and soul of Christianity." May it not be that through Ghandi, Jesus is coming to India? May he not be come into the Kingdom for such an hour as this, to reveal the Oriental Christ? May he not yet slough off his Hinduism and fulfill a mission of redemption? And God forbid that we, in our ecclesiastical zeal, should break the earthen vessel in which the Oriental would carry the water of life to dying men because we prefer to bear it to them in an Occidental, standardized oil can.

And there stands Africa, the "last of the continents," with its one hundred and fifty million Black men. Small groups of white pioneers, mostly from England, among a hundred million natives represent what they call "Christian civilization."

Is Christ Coming to Africa?

And is the Christ coming to Africa through England? Hear this: "Greed

and robbery have fastened on Africa a new slavery." The law of the Union of South Africa assigns nearly two hundred and fifty million acres of the best land of the natives to one and a half million of whites, and leaves only thirty-six million acres, largely of marsh and swamp, to four and a half million Blacks. Robbed of their own soil, the Blacks are forced to toil for the profit of a white world.[1] Let us away with sanctimonious twaddle about giving Africa our civilization, when we scatter damnation in British West Africa through over three million gallons of rum and gin every year. What wonder, face to face with greed, cruelty, caste, these colored groups, outcast under the heels of the white man, should cry out in the language of Mrs. Browning's "Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point":

[1] Bishop Frederick Fisher, of India, after spending several weeks in studying conditions in South Africa, says: "The white controllers, whether political, commercial, or industrial, are determined to maintain absolute and universal white supremacy. How to do this and at the same time allow for education and advancement among the black and brown people, is the unsolved problem. . . . The danger is that democratic ideals may not be able to bear the strain of racial antipathy." February, 1926.

"I am black, I am black,"
(or yellow, or brown)
"And yet God made me, they say:
But if he did so, smiting back,
He must have cast his work away
Under the feet of his white creatures
With a look of scorn, that the dusky features
Might be trodden again to clay."

Five Continents to One

What says the East to the imperialism of the white groups that control five continents of the earth and restrict the yellow races to a portion of one? We must face the challenge of Professor Cornelius at Williamstown Institute: "When I point a revolver at your head, and take your goods, I am a criminal; on the other hand, when you plant yourself solidly on other people with the aid of guns, we speak of it as carrying civilization to the backward state." Here is this mighty tide of humanity, with surging millions pressed over the rim into the sea, yet here stands the white man sword in hand saying, "Thou shalt not pass."

"God Save Us From 'the Meek'!"

They look across to Australia with its

three million square miles of surface, with room for twenty times its population, over against Japan with only one twentieth of its land and ten times its population. They see the Philippines at their door with its ten millions, but with land and resources for eighty millions. There is New Zealand held by one million whites, with land and resources equal to the British Isles. They see Canada and British Columbia with extent and resources for one hundred times their present population. Here is the United States over against China with half the land and crowded with four hundred million people. Yet we piously accept the word, "The meek shall inherit the earth"! Well may they cry out, "God save us from 'the meek'!" And wherefore? Because we persistently ignore the terms set forth in the other clause of the same verse, "and shall delight themselves in *the abundance of peace.*" Does enforced possession of the very land on which native races were born and may still set their feet and live, make for *peace?* And we devoutly chant the refrain, "The earth

is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein!" Hath not the Ruler of the earth a care for those that dwell in his world? Truly they belong to God. They are God's children. "He hath made of one blood all nations." He made the earth for all them "that dwell therein"! How about people who gobble up and grip nine tenths of the earth and crowd God's yellow and brown children into the sea?

If the tidal wave of the yellow and brown races begins to move out in enforced migrations that become an avalanche, breaking dykes and defying guns, then woe be to them through whom the offense cometh!

England and World Civilization

All thoughtful men must recognize the tremendous contribution which Great Britain has made to the civilization of the world. With a singular genius for colonization, she has been the broadest and most successful colonizer in all history. She has brought the light of civilization and the blessings of order and

economic progress into dark and uncivilized spaces of the earth through the administration of justice and the development of education, a free press, agriculture and commerce. Also, in large measure, the *official* representatives of the Commonwealth have held to the ethical code of the English and have generally ruled in the interest of equity, morality and peace. Even the Italian leader and statesman, Signor Nitti, recognized this when at San Remo he said to Mr. Philip H. Kerr: "There is a difference between you English-speaking peoples and us Continentals; your civilization, your politics rest upon moral ideas, ours upon intellectual."

Admitting all this, however, as we face the relation of the English people to world conditions and movements to-day, in view of the situation merely outlined above, the serious question confronts us: Is England to be the channel through which Christ shall reach the world when China hates her, India writhes under her imperial heel, and Africa looks to her in despair?

America and World Movements

Come we now to America, that land of manifest destiny. What imperial resources! According to Gladstone, "a natural base for the greatest continuous empire ever established by man." Herbert Spencer prophesied for America "a civilization greater than the world has ever known," and Lord Bryce later affirmed, "America marks the highest level which the race has yet attained." Colquhoun in his singularly clear and comprehensive work on *Greater America* demonstrated that no nation has the opportunity to play as large a part in the coming world movements as America. Yet through lack of vision, moral courage, spiritual discernment and unselfish service the United States is in peril of failure in its predestined mission to the world.

To fulfill this mission, America must stand for four things: peace, justice through righteousness, brotherhood and spiritual idealism. First, she has partly failed in her mission as peace-bringer by

clinging to the policy of selfish isolation face to face with a supreme opportunity to serve the world through the "League of Nations."

Lost Moral Leadership of the World

In this policy she lost the moral leadership of the world, which she held. She quenched that fine spirit of idealism which during the war swept like a flame the thought and imagination of millions of our youth. Where material interests seemed involved she had part in that disgraceful and degrading compact at Lausanne, which permitted the Turk, whose hands were stained with the blood of a million Armenians, to again set his reddened hoof on the soil of Europe. To get a true evaluation we must visualize not what the League now is, but what the League of Nations might have been as an international moral force had the United States thrown the might of her imperial influence into it. Yet to-day we behold the League with fifty-five nations united "to promote cooperation between the nations," to make "the

well-being of the races not yet able to stand alone a sacred trust of civilization." That is, cooperation between the strong and trusteeship for the weak. God grant that the United States may have the discernment and wisdom to enter the World Court and, in the name of the brotherhood of nations, break her narrow shell of isolation and help this dazed and staggering world on to its feet.[1]

Shut the Door in Japan's Face

The United States failed, when spurning the Christian ideal of brotherhood, we shut the door against Japan by laws, not based on economic or cultural ground, but on race discrimination. The

[1] While certain leaders justify the policy of selfish isolation on the basis of Washington's warning against "entangling alliances," they ignore the statesmanship of Jefferson, who writes in a letter to Monroe October 30, 1823, referring to the proffered cooperation of Great Britain, that this "is the nation which can do us the most harm of any one, or all, on earth; and with her on our side, we need not fear the whole world." Madison fully concurred with Jefferson, advising the acceptance of Canning's offer of cooperation because "with that cooperation, we have nothing to fear from the rest of Europe; and with it the best reliance on success to our just and laudable views." (Madison to Monroe, October 30, 1823.)

admission of only 159 Japanese annually would have saved us from what Japan resents as "not only a challenge to Japan, but an insult to the colored races."

Ambassador Woods, in keen disappointment, said, "We had it all in our hands; the future friendship and good will and the trade and international team-work of the strongest nation in the East and one of the strongest in the world and we willfully threw it away." The effect of this act may be judged from such utterances as these from the press and statesmen of Japan: "A shock to the whole Japanese race, such as has never before been felt." "No blow can stagger like the blow of a friend," lamented Baron Sakatani, minister of finance. "The blow comes from America, the land of idealism, the land of justice—it cuts to the quick." In its broader aspect they take it, "not as a challenge to Japan, but also an insult to all colored races." And it has been even predicted that it may result in a union of all Asiatic races because of this discrimination on the ground of race.

Monroe Doctrine Served Its Day

Coming nearer home, the United States is in peril of failure in meeting those "stern conditions of moral fitness and uprightness"—not to speak of brotherhood, in her relations to South America and Mexico.

These nineteen republics charge that the Monroe Doctrine is interpreted in terms of imperialism to secure to the United States political and commercial ascendancy over South America. They charge that it is not Pan-American but a United States doctrine, in whose application they do not share. In our expansion of sovereignty and control in the Caribbean, they see a menace. The fact is, the Monroe Doctrine, with the unilateral interpretation given it, has served its day. Unless we begin to interpret it on a broad basis of Pan-Americanism, the Latin-American states will have no part in it. Instead of twenty republics being under the suzerainty of one, let the motto be, "Each for all and all for each."[1]

[1] Theodore Roosevelt strongly asserted that "with the benefits derived from the Monroe Doctrine must

Anti-American Spirit

Sure it is, as Blakeslee affirms, that the last Pan-American conference at Santiago revealed an unexpected anti-American spirit. The United States naval mission to Brazil and our failure to recognize Mexico, created an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion.[1] What wonder! While Germany furnished a free biological mission to the Argentine in the interest of health, the United States sent to Brazil a naval mission of thirty-six officers, headed by a rear admiral, to train the youth of the republic in the arts of war. This incited the nations of South America to end their naval holiday and to get on a war basis, although Argentina affirmed that since 1911 "no gun and not a grain of powder had been acquired by the army."

Let us realize that eighteen of these

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be accepted inevitable responsibilities." "Just as there has been a gradual growth of the ethical elements in the relation of one to another," he declared, "so we are, even though slowly, more and more coming to recognize the duty of bearing one another's burdens, not only among individuals but also among nations."

[1] *The Recent Foreign Policy of the United States.* George H. Blakeslee. The Abingdon Press, page 145.

republics have membership in the League of Nations, with Mexico planning to join. Two of their presidents have been elected presidents of the League. What wonder that it is predicted that Latin-America may turn from Pan-Americanism and unite with Europe through the League of Nations, leaving the United States isolated on the American hemisphere. And now that the Locarno treaty has united Europe, is this nation not in peril of having her selfish interpretation of "entangling alliances" shut her out from the brotherhood of nations in an isolation that shall leave her standing alone in the world? The recent tentative movement of Chile toward the League in the Tacna-Arica case enforces this possibility.[1]

[1] Señor Molino, president of a leading Latin-American university, in his plea that we adopt the motto "Not America for Americans," but "America for humanity," said: "The Monroe Doctrine and Pan-Americanism are mutually exclusive. They cannot go together. Pan-Americanism means mutual cooperation between nations on a basis of equality; the Monroe Doctrine means that the smaller nations are ignored in their rights. It means the hegemony of the United States. We South Americans believe that the Monroe Doctrine has already fulfilled its mission. In more than twenty years we have had nothing to fear from Europe, and we have nothing to fear today. The Monroe Doctrine is a corpse; but Pan-Americanism is a hope."

Big Boss and Not Big Brother

Let us apply this test of peace and brotherhood to the United States in her relation to Mexico.

To our neighbor next door we have been most unneighborly. In her life-and-death struggle for liberty and human rights for a hundred years the United States has been a *"big boss"* rather than a *"big brother."* Through war or enforced treaty, we have taken half her territory. Daniel Webster expressed our attitude when he made strong plea for our "sister republic on the Southwest now in the throes of mortal agony, to which we have given neither sympathy nor a helping hand."

What is our approach to Mexico today? Through thirteen forts or armed camps with 8,400 soldiers, with 450 officers, and God only knows how many guns. I still make plea as I have in per-

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Dr. Alfred L. Palacios, of the National University of La Plata, recently said that North Americans have a motto to the effect that "commerce follows the flag," and missionary work is a form of peaceful penetration which but "neutralizes the absorbing and invading character of Yankee capitalism."

sonal conference with the President and the Secretary of War, that we gradually abolish these forts and substitute what will be more efficient, namely, mounted police along the border, supported by an air force. Then take the cost of one or two forts and put it into scholarships for alert, capable Mexican youth. Place them in our colleges. Let them catch the spirit and ideals of a free republic; imbue them with a spirit of altruism and unselfish patriotism, then send them back to bind the United States and Mexico with hoops of steel. The best investment this nation has made for a hundred years was the translation of the Boxer indemnity into scholarships for Chinese students. I propose the motto, "Hands, not guns, across the border." Hands with the heart of Christ in them to help Mexico and to heal the scars we have made. The secretary of state for Mexico, Señor Aaron Saenz, assured me that if the United States thus trusts Mexico, every semblance of fort or armed force will be moved from the border and civil police substituted. May

we adopt the slogan, "Mexico, next in neighborhood; let us make first in brotherhood."

We are called on as a people to change not only our acts toward the Negro but our attitude as well. The call is not for repression but for recognition, that we may fit him for his place in the program of world redemption. Through these twelve millions, Africa is stretching out her hands to God.

Three Hundred and Thirty Billions!

The United States is in peril from excessive wealth. The burden of the world's gold is upon us in our possession of three hundred and thirty billions of the wealth of the world, fifty per cent greater than the combined wealth of the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Italy. The fact is we are "beastly rich," and it is our peril.[1] The effect on morals

[1] The opposition to the views here expressed in many editorials in such papers as the Boston Transcript, the Philadelphia Ledger and others makes pertinent this abstract from E. S. Martin's editorial, a column in length, in Life: "As a people we have two troubles in particular. We are too rich and we are mean." He then

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is inevitable as we now see the increasing softness, luxury, indulgence, and corruption. In the face of present conditions, we may well recall the warning word of Emerson: "Great, intelligent, sensual, avaricious America." And the ominous word of the prophet, "The people sat down to eat and drink and rose up to play," applies to the growing self-indulgence of increasing multitudes of our people. Besides this, we face startling and ominous inequalities that give to the cry of millions of Socialists all the passion of a religion. In England two and a half per cent of the people own eighty-eight per cent of the wealth. In the United States, two per cent own sixty-five per cent.

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quotes the above paragraph, "The burden of the world's gold is upon us; the fact is, we are beastly rich," and adds, "And that is considerably true. There is a money flood. Some effects of it are quite disagreeable, washing people out of their habits of life, sweeping them along in currents that are too deep for them, getting them infatuated with the idea that the chief end of life is to get money and spend it."

At Washington and Lee University, on January 18, 1926, President John Grier Hibben of Princeton said, "Our great nation is facing destruction not by civil war nor foreign aggression but by the dangers and temptations of prosperity."

A Crisis in the Moral Progress of the World

The author of *The World and Its Meaning,* a recent book marked by soberness and restraint, sees "a crisis that has arisen in the moral progress of the world through the failure in social morale." If this is not curbed, he predicts "the dark ages that would follow" and "the long centuries of social decadence that would ensue. Since the Great War the world is full of wasters and grafters and despoilers of women and breakers of law and destroyers of the home and traitors to peace and justice."[2]

It is no secret that our great cities are centers of lawlessness and even defiance of the constitution. The situation serves to recall the warning of Wendell Phillips that "our cities shall yet strain the republic as slavery never did."

Call for High Spiritual Idealism

Finally there is the loss of the old-time high spiritual idealism, which is the hope

[2] Patrick, *The World and its Meaning,* used by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

of the republic and of the world. The marked decadence of our youth is alarming. Religious sanctions are losing their hold; home influence, as in other days, does not avail. Truly, we are in peril of that valley of dry bones of which Wendell Phillips warned Harvard University forty years ago, "that valley of dry bones, the burial place of high hopes and humanitarian ideals, over which the voice of the prophet cries in vain."

What avails the church and abounding wealth in relation to the world if the unseen and eternal loses its grip on youth and materialistic motives and sensual ideals prevail? Man after man, out of the amount paid for revenue taxes alone, could support one thousand missionaries at $2,000 each per year, to carry Christ to the world. But if this money were available, where is that flaming missionary zeal that once enrolled twenty thousand young men and women in the Student Volunteer Movement?

But One Side of the Picture

Now, it is manifest that in this chal-

lenge but one side of the picture has been presented. My purpose is to startle the church into an awful sense of its unique mission to the world and of its peril of failure.

Looking on the bright side, there are evidences of a deepening interest in religion manifest in numerous serious discussions in magazines and newspapers. There is no doubt that the application of the social and economic teachings of Jesus to business and trade is growing. It is an encouraging fact that, while a century and a half ago there was scarcely a professing Christian in Yale, now thousands in our colleges are united in a youth movement as thoughtful and eager followers of the Lord Jesus. The recent Student Conferences are signficant and hopeful. Instead of one citizen in eleven being in the Christian Church, now forty-two per cent are numbered in its membership. Other encouraging facts are in evidence. But, while the church last year, in unselfish devotion, gave one hundred and seventy-one millions of dollars for missions, that same church, with all its

billions of wealth, called back from the world-field hundreds of English-speaking missionaries. In the same year it spent on its own churches in the United States over four hundred millions of dollars.

If America Fails

In the face of these facts the solemn question confronts us, Is America meeting those "stern and immutable conditions of moral fitness and uprightness" without which she shall fail to fulfill her mission to the world?

If she fails! Ominous word for the world. Dr. Edwards A. Park used to say: "If America fails, the world fails." But America must not fail. America appears to be the last effort of Divine Providence in behalf of the human race. Think how God held this continent in his closed right hand! Held it over the "dolorous and accursed centuries!" Held it until the dawn of the Renaissance! Held it in his closed right hand until the invention of the art of printing and the open Bible! Held it until the era of the

Protestant Reformation with a free church and the common school! Held it until the Puritan Reformation and the day of the Pilgrim Fathers, that he might sow this new continent with sifted grain! Held it until he might open it as a seat of a new civilization to stand as an example and inspiration to the world! AMERICA MUST NOT FAIL! God never reared Niagara as a requiem of broken hopes, nor scooped out the valley of the Mississippi for the grave of civil liberty. He means that these blue heavens shall dome a temple of freedom. That these mountains shall stand as pillars of the temple of liberty. That the streams adown these mountains and through the valleys far and wide, shall chant the song of a redeemed people through whom Christ may reach the world.

But if this is to be so, we must away with the slogan, "America first." This may mean America condemned to selfishness, moral impotency, isolation, and shame. Let the slogan rather be, "America for the world." This means America fitted into the redemptive plan

of God and lifted into new and larger life and power.

To fulfill their evident mission to the world let these contacts of the English-speaking peoples with the world be used not as advance agents of imperialism or to pave the way for capitalism; not for Cæsar but for Christ; not for exploitation but for redemption; not to Westernize but to Christianize; not for ecclesiasticism but for Christ; not to compass land and sea to gain proselytes for church or creed, but through contact, language, missionary zeal to preach Christ and him crucified to every nation.

The call to these English-speaking peoples is that they renounce imperialism, cease exploitation, crucify caste, assert the fundamental equality of all races and nations, exalt Christ before all peoples, catch "the blinding vision of one race, one color, one soul in humanity." O ye Anglo-Americans, humble yourselves in the mighty hand of God, that through contact with the world, through a language saturated with Christ, through religion, missionary passion, possessions and power, He may exalt you to be the channel through which Christ may reach and redeem the world!

Dr

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